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THE GOLD COAST
ASHANTI

ASHANTI

AND

THE GOLD COAST:

AND WHAT WE KNOW OF IT.

A Sketch.

BY VICE-ADMIRAL

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WITH COLOURED MAP.

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ASHANTI

AND

THE GOLD COAST.

PRELIMINARY.

THERE seems a general disinclination to acknowledge any acquaintance with the history of our territorial rights and duties on the west coast of Africa. This feeling, however, is more the result of a disinclination to search for information on the subject than from any lack of existing sources from which to draw the knowledge required.

The following may be consulted with advantage:—Bowdich's Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashanti, 1819; Dupuis' Journal of a Residence in Ashanti, 1824; Beecham's Account of Ashanti and the Gold Coast, 1843; Cruickshank's Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, 1853; Major Ricketts'

Narrative of the Ashanti War, 1831; Miss Tucker's Abbeokuta, 1853; Horton's Physical and Medical Climate and Meteorology of the West Coast of Africa, 1867; Winwood Reade's African Sketch Book, 1873; Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1844; Report of Committee of House of Commons, 1865; Treaties, &c., 1872; Correspondence, 1872-3; Lecture, R. U. S. I., Earl of Lauderdale. It is hoped that this pamphlet may help in some degree as a clue in the labyrinth of Gold Coast troubles.

CHAPTER I.

THE PROTECTED TERRITORY.

THE Gold Coast, which is likely for some time to attract the public attention, extends from the river Volta to the river Assini.

To the westward of the Assini is the Ivory Coast. To the eastward of the Volta is the Slave Coast.

The Gold Coast Settlements and Protected Territory with which this country is connected do not correspond exactly with the above-mentioned geographical definition.

The coast line of the British territory extends from a point in the Slave Coast near the meridian of 1° east of Greenwich to the meridian of 3° 10′ W., a point 12 miles to the eastward of the mouth of the river Assini.

The seaboard of this territory is now owned or protected entirely by Great Britain.

To the westward of 3° 10′ W. the territory is owned by France; and that power, until lately, occupied several forts or fortified stations

at Grand Bassam, and near the mouth of the Assini, on both sides of the entrance of that river, and French influence was asserted as far as Little Bassam.

The French have, however, withdrawn their troops, and have let their fortified posts to the British mercantile house of Messrs. Swanzy, who, in the inner waters of the lagoons formed by the Assini and the Tando, have now above forty steam-vessels engaged in prosecuting legitimate commerce.

The French, though they have withdrawn their troops, have not made over their territory by treaty to Great Britain, and still maintain a naval connection with this dependency.

To the east of the British territory are the savage tribes of the Slave Coast, which intervenes between the sea and the south-western extremity of the kingdom of Dahomey.

The fortified stations which dot the shore along these 250 miles have lately become exclusively British. Some are deserted, some are in ruins, but all must be recorded in order to render any statement intelligible.

The reader must be reminded that the forts

and fortified stations along the Gold Coast were during the early part of this century owned by the British, the Danes, and the Dutch.

In 1850 the Government of Denmark transferred all its forts and rights to the British Crown for 10,000*l.*

In 1867 the Government of Great Britain transferred all its forts and rights westward of the Sweet-Water River to Holland, receiving from Holland in exchange all the Dutch rights and possessions to the eastward of that river.

In 1872 the Government of Holland transferred to the British Crown all its forts and territory and rights on the Gold Coast, including those which had been transferred by Great Britain to Holland in 1867.

Beginning from the eastward these places are as follows:—

Quittah (Keta)		Formerly Danish.
Adda		" "
Ningo, Fort Fredensborg ..		Danish.
Prampram, Fort Vernon		British.
Tassy, Fort Augustenborg ..		Formerly Danish.
Accra	Christiansborg	" "
	Crêvecœur	Dutch till 1867.
	Fort James	British.
Winnebah		"
Apam		Dutch till 1867.

Cormantine	Dutch till 1867.
Anamaboe	British.
Nassau	Dutch till 1867.
Cape Coast Castle	British.
St. George d'El Mina	Dutch till 1872.
Commenda	British till 1867; Dutch till 1872.
Chama	Dutch till 1872.
Secondi	" "
Tacorady	" "
Boutry	" "
Dixcove	British till 1867; Dutch till 1872.
Akoda (Fort Dorothea)	Dutch till 1872.
Axim, Fort St. Anthony ..	" "
Apollonia	British till 1867; Dutch till 1872.

Neither Dane nor Englishman claimed any territory outside their forts. At Axim the Dutch owned a considerable tract of country, as large, perhaps, as Hampshire, and watered by the river Ankobar. It was surrounded on all sides by the kingdoms of Apollonia, of Denkera, and of Western Wassaw, whose sovereigns claimed, and until 1867 were acknowledged as the recipients of, British protection. Elsewhere the Dutch held no territory, as they had resigned their claim to a tract of land near Accra in 1867. All the rights of Denmark and of Holland having since

1872 been absorbed by Great Britain, it is now necessary to describe the area of the so-called Protected Territory.

Until the Treaty with Holland in 1872 there was some difficulty in determining the limits of British Protected Territory.

As Great Britain has, however, now assumed the responsibilities of Denmark and Holland, the limits of the Protected Territory may be defined with some accuracy.

On the south, the Gulf of Guinea, excepting only those forts and stations already enumerated which belong absolutely to Great Britain, and are on the shore.

On the east the river Volta to lat. 6° 20′ N.; on the west the river Tando to about lat. 6° 10′ N., and on the north the kingdom of Ashanti.

This frontier is coincident with the northern frontier of the Protected States of Denkera, of Assin, of Akim, and of Akuamu.

The line of demarcation betwixt these states and Ashanti is drawn from about 6° 10′ N. on the east bank of the Tando River to the town of Terraboom, on the west bank of the Ofim River; it there follows the line of the Ofim to

its junction with the river Prah. From that confluence the boundary is marked by the left bank of the Prah to lat. 6° 20′ N., and then appears nearly to follow that parallel to the river Volta. This territory is divided into two nearly equal portions by the river Prah, which, from its junction with the Ofin to the sea, flows in a southerly direction. In the eastern half the territory is subdivided into many small states, and in them British influence is paramount, except perhaps in distant Akuamu, whose loyalty is said to be doubtful. In the western half the Dutch influence prevails on the seashore; but until the transfer, or rather the attempted transfer, to Holland, in 1867, of our rights in those districts, the inland peoples desired and appreciated the British protection.

To the west of the Prah the kingdoms of Amanahea, of Aowin, of Ahanta, of Wassaw, and of Denkera, occupying the principal place among the Protected Tribes, and smaller potentates, such as the kings of Secondi and El Mina, are more or less important according to their geographical position.

Apollonia, on the extreme western seaboard,

preferred British possession to Dutch in 1867, and its king was with difficulty persuaded to renounce the British connection.

Assini is the next state on the shore, and entirely Dutch in its inclinations.

Ahanta is a considerable state, and the forts of Dixcove, Boutry, and Secondi are within its territory.

The small state of Chama, at the mouth of the Prah, and the king of El Mina's territory on its eastern shore, are completely influenced by the policy they inherit from the Dutch connection.

The once powerful kingdom of Denkera, on the Ashanti frontier, is an absolute monarchy, which in former times contested with Ashanti the supreme power. Its king is, and has always been, most loyal to British protection, influenced, no doubt, by the hostility of his northern hereditary foe. Denkera is rich in gold fields, as yet undeveloped. It contributes a force of 6000 men to the Fanti forces under King Quachie Fram.

The powerful state of Wassaw lies north of Ahanta and south of Denkera, with the Prah as its eastern frontier.

In spite of the attempt to detach it from

British protection in 1867, its loyalty to England remains unimpaired, and its king has hailed with satisfaction the undivided authority of Great Britain, now established in the Protectorate. His quota of men for the present war is placed at 10,000.

To the east of the Prah the territory is more subdivided.

Return, H. of C., 173. 1873. Thirty-one kings or chiefs attached their signatures to the proposed Fanti Confederation on the 24th November, 1871.

Return, H. of C., 266–I. 1873. In the 'Rough Estimate' of the Fanti forces submitted by the Administrator on the 2nd February, 1873, twelve kings are named whose united contingent alone amounted to between 63,000 and 70,000 men.

The ancient Fanti Kingdom, which extends along the sea coast from the Sweet-Water River to Mumford, has been broken up, and the present King of Fanti, who holds his Court at Mankessan, is rather respected for what he represents than from the power which he now possesses. Yet Quasie Edos, King of Mankessan, the representative of the Fanti kings, was chosen by his compeers as one of the two Kings President of the Fanti Confederation.

Within Fanti are Cape Coast, Anamaboe, Abra, Dunquah, Dominassie, Mankessan, and Ajimacoo. All of these petty states have separate kings or chiefs, and there are others of which there is not at present any accurate record.

The quota of men for the present war of some of these tribes may perhaps assist us in measuring their relative importance. Thus, Cape Coast is rated at 3000 men; Anamaboe, under its king, Amoanoo IV., at from 2000 to 3000; Abrah, under its king, Anfoo Otoo (the joint King President of the proposed Fanti Confederation with the King of Mankessan), contributes 3000 men; Ajimacoo, under King Moquah, 2000 men.

The country included in these states just mentioned never rises above 200 feet from the sea level. The whole of the country is one continued forest covered with luxuriant foliage. The plains are not of great extent, and during the rainy season are flooded by the rivulets which intersect them, and the exhalations as the waters subside are very injurious to the European constitution. It is the most civilized portion of the Protected Territory, and for its

civilization it is principally indebted to the sacrifices and efforts of the Wesleyan Mission.

Gold is found in small quantities throughout this district.

To the east of these tribes are Essecumah, Ackoomfee, and Gomoah, the two last named extending to the sea. Essecumah is not named in the 'Rough Estimate' as sending a contingent to the present armament, but its chief, Quabina Abba Kang, is known as loyal to the British protection.

Ackoomfee, of which Coffee Ackinnee is king, contributes 5000 or 6000 men, and Quassie Tando, the king paramount of Gomoah, and Quabina Ockill, king of Western Gomoah, are described as providing a force of 15,000 to 20,000 men. The climate and character of these districts is similar to that already described in the Fanti district.

Of Gomoah, indeed, it may be said that it is populous, barbarous, and fertile. The district of Winnebah extends along the coast for about 40 miles. The population is industrious and hard-working. The canoes of the Gold Coast are almost all built in this district. Palm oil, maize, and ground nuts, are produced

in abundance, and a small supply of gold dust is obtained. The King of Winnebah, Henry Aquah, is a Christian, and uses his influence, which is considerable, in enforcing among his people the doctrines and practices of the Christian faith.

Fine timber is obtained from the forests with which this district is bountifully supplied.

Following the coast we now reach Accra. This settlement still retains the character it has derived from the three-fold occupation it so long underwent of English, Dutch, and Dane. It comprises James Town, or English Accra; Crévecœur, or Dutch Accra; and Christiansborg, or Danish Accra. Each town has a king, of whom Cudjoe rules in the old British territory, Taccie in the Dutch, and Dawoonah in the Danish. Taccie, however, has the advantage of the Fetish man, or priest, living under his control, and so is able to assume a superiority over the others.

The country of Accra is flat and dry. North and north-west of Accra is Akuapim; this is a mountainous region. Its capital, Akropong, is 1600 feet above the level of the sea. Here the Basle Mission has its head-quarters,

and at this hospitable station the European suffering from the climate of the Gold Coast may recover in its balmy shades and cool breezes the energy he has lost in the plains below. Its population consists of industrious farmers, cultivating coffee and palm oil. Gold dust is also produced. Its children are taught in their schools both the English language and their own.

To the east of Accra is Adangme, which continues a coast line and district similar to Accra, until it joins the estuary of the Volta.

Forty miles from the coast Adangme ends and Krobo begins. It is perhaps the richest portion of the Protected Territory. It is governed by two kings, Ologo Patoo and Odonko Assin, who rule over a race of bold and hardy mountaineers. The capital of Krobo is built on the flat summit of a precipitous mountain, which rises abruptly from the plain, and which has obtained from a competent military observer the appellation of the Gibraltar of Western Africa.

The northern tribe on the west bank of the Volta is Akuamu. It is said that its loyalty to the English rule is not well assured. It is a mountainous region. The range at its

north-east extremity is stopped short by the Volta. The extreme peak of the range is named Mount Pine. The Basle Mission has a station at Odumase.

North of Winnebah and west of Akuapim is the territory of Eastern Akim; it was formerly under Danish protection. It extends to the Prah, where that river first touches the Protected Territory.

Its inhabitants are brave and warlike. The country is encircled by forest; the principal occupation is gold digging, and the king is reputed to be wealthy. Western Akim was also formerly under Denmark; it lies between Assin and East Akim, and has its northern frontier touching the Ashanti Empire, to which it once belonged. Its late king, Ageman, was a brave, resolute, and good governor. The capital is Gadem. The two Akims can muster 10,000 men.

The king of Western Akim, Quabinah Fuah, is attached to England, and may be expected to perform good service.

One more tribe remains to be noticed. The tribe of Assin occupies the territory where the main road from Kumasi crosses the Prah on

its way to Cape Coast. It has two political heads, Irikie and Tchiboo. The one resides at Yankumasi, the other at Mansu. The tribe musters a contingent of about 2000. It is not populous, but it is very fertile and produces some gold. There were schools both at Mansu and at Tabresumang, but the recently disturbed condition of the country has caused them to be closed. There are other tribes of importance, such as Ahyan with its force of 2000 men, and Inkoosoo Kroom and Brobor with 2000 men; but enough has been presented to give an idea of the general character of the country whose civilization and protection has devolved upon Great Britain.

It remains to be said, that the whole line of coast is fringed by perpetual surf. In unusually quiet weather ships' boats may land at Secondi, at El Mina, and at Accra, but at almost all the other places, and, indeed, generally there, a surf boat is necessary for communication between ship and shore.

Good anchorage is to be found at a mile or two from the shore, but the never-ceasing swell causes a monotonous rolling. The range of breakers, however, extends nearly three miles

to seaward from Cape Three Points, and at Achowa, at Achowa Point, and at Mumford, the broken water and foul ground is to be avoided for at least 2½ miles from the shore.

The sanitary condition of the towns on the Gold Coast is very unsatisfactory.

Colonel Conran is reported, whilst he commanded at Cape Coast Castle, to have done much to improve the sanitary condition of the town, but in spite of all his efforts we find Governor Hennessy writing thus of Cape Coast Castle in 1872: "It was my disagreeable duty "to tell the late Administrator that I found "the town of Cape Coast . . . . . to be the "most filthy and apparently neglected place "that I had ever seen under anything like "civilized government."

The Gold Coast lies in the zone of variable winds, but the prevailing wind is from the S.W. In December and January, and in May, easterly winds occasionally prevail.

The Gold Coast is less unhealthy than Sierra Leone, the Gambia, or Lagos, but, nevertheless, it is a climate most injurious to European life. Dr. Horton's admirable work enters most perspicuously into this subject.

CHAPTER II.

ASHANTI.

It is now desirable to state the leading facts in the history of our formidable enemy. When the Moslem invasion of Western Europe was stemmed, and the Christians reasserted their superiority in Spain, the Moors turned the tide of conquest towards Central Africa, and on the banks of the long mysterious Quorra or Niger established their seat of empire at Timbuctu. They advanced gradually to the Kong Mountains, pushing before them the aboriginal race of Central Africa; and, having driven them into the low lying countries between the Kong Mountains and the sea, the tide of Mahometan conquest expended itself in establishing the kingdom of Gaman. The native tribes, which occupied the countries now known as Ashanti and the Protected Territory, seem then to have been known as Ashanti, Fanti, Akim, Assin, Akuamu, and Denkera.

The Ashanti capital about the year 1700

was Beka, 60 miles south of Kumasi; but the reigning monarch at that time, Osai Tutu, removed the seat of Government from Beka to Kumasi. In the seventeenth century the army of Ashanti was reckoned at 60,000 men. This sovereign conquered or brought under tribute Akim, Assin, Quahou, Akeyah, and extended his conquests beyond the river Tando. He then turned his victorious arms against Gaman, and entering Buntuku, its capital, made it tributary to Ashanti. He then conquered Banna, and part of the mountains of Kong; and Assin failing to pay tribute, he ravaged it with fire and sword. Tufel next fell a prey to his ambition, and Wassaw and Fanti acknowledged his superiority. Denkera alone remained independent, and its youthful sovereign, Bosiante, was treated as the equal and friend of the great Osai Tutu. The King of Denkera despatched an embassage in 1719 to the court at Kumasi. It consisted of the most black and comely of the ladies of his harem, for there, at least, the ladies perform the duties of soldiers and of statesmen. The deputation was treated with courtesy by the monarch, who determined to despatch some of his ladies to

Denkera to return the compliment. One of these dark beauties captivated the heart of the King of Denkera. He was not proof against the temptation. The lady returned disgraced to Kumasi, and Osai Tutu determined to blot out his dishonour in blood.

The war lasted two years. In 1720, during the heat of the war, the offending Bosiante died. His successor, Intun Dahan, formed an alliance with the Dutch, who supplied him with arms and ammunition; he succeeded in persuading Akim, which had hitherto been jealous of the prosperity of Denkera, to join him against the common enemy, and maintain the balance of power. Osai Tutu defeated the allies in two great battles, in which Denkera lost 100,000 men, and Akim 30,000. The body of the offending king was exhumed, his flesh given to serpents; and the war-drum of the King of Ashanti still bears as a trophy the skull and the thigh-bone of the amorous and unfortunate Bosiante.

About 1730 Akim again rebelled. Osai Tutu immediately marched an army into the disloyal province. It was proceeding successfully in its mission, but the victorious sovereign

fell in an ambuscade whilst crossing the river Prah, leaving an empire which extended from the Assini to the Volta, and from the Kong Mountains to the sea. The place where the ambush was planned in which he was slain is called Cormantee. His successor took ample vengeance for his death, and its memory is still embalmed in the most binding and dreadful of Ashanti oaths — Meminda Cormantee. He was succeeded in 1731 by his brother Osai Apoko, who in a reign of eleven years completed and consolidated the conquests of his predecessor. Akim, Assin, Denkera, Bourong felt his military prowess, and a conspiracy having broken out at Buntuku against his authority, he defeated the King of Gaman, and reduced him to complete submission; he died in 1742, having established in all his dominions a despotic authority, and was succeeded by his brother, Osai Aquasi. The new king restored to the great chiefs the constitutional powers of which they had been deprived by his predecessor. In his reign the powerful kingdom of Dahomey attacked Ashanti, and united its forces with Bourong, Quaku, Akim, and Banna; but Osai Aquasi defeated the allies

with great slaughter. The Kings of Bourong and of Quaku were taken prisoners, and the King of Akim, to save himself from a similar fate, seated himself on a barrel of powder, which he exploded, to avoid the malice of his enemies.

Osai Aquasi then decided to attempt the conquest of Dahomey. In vain the omens warned him against the enterprise, in vain his stoutest chieftains strove to dissuade him. He crossed the Volta with a large force, and suffered a terrible defeat at the hand of the Amazon troops of the King of Dahomey. The Dahomians did not follow up their success, and since that date the two kingdoms of Ashanti and Dahomey have known how to respect each other, and to devote their warlike energies against neighbours less likely to contend on terms of equality. Osai Aquasi died of wounds received in a battle fought with Banna, in 1752.

Osai Cudjoe, the nephew of the last three sovereigns, now ascended the throne. The tributary tribes of Gaman and Wassaw determined to refuse tribute. Osai Cudjoe marched against Gaman with such forces as were available, hoping to nip rebellion in the

bud. He was twice defeated, and had to retreat into the forests which surrounded Kumasi. There, rallying his troops and their reserve, he turned on his enemies, and inflicted an exemplary defeat. Gaman had, for the first time, fought with firearms, and was assisted in this campaign by the Moslem cavalry of Kong.

Osai Cudjoe captured multitudes of prisoners. The adults were sacrificed, or sold as slaves to the Dutch and English at the slave market at Mansu to defray the expense of the war, and all the male children were educated at his expense to be enlisted as soldiers in the army of Ashanti.

Wassaw was even more severely treated, and the terror of his arms was felt beyond Cape Palmas. He then was able to complete a treaty of peace with his eastern neighbours, which was cemented by an intimate alliance with Dahomey and Egboe. In his last year, worn out with age and an arduous life, Assin, Akuapim, and Akim took advantage of his condition to rebel. He died in 1781, and was succeeded by his grandson Osai Quamina.

The new king immediately recorded a solemn

vow not to enter his palace or see his wives till he had revenged himself on those who had, by their rebellion, embittered the last hours of his grandfather. And well he kept his word. The rebels were defeated, and the heads of Kings Akombra and Afosu were added to the trophies which decorate the palace of the king at Kumasi. But in spite of his victories and ability, he was not true to the bloody worship in which his countrymen trust. He was more than suspected of indifference or toleration. He had encouraged, or at least not discouraged, the Mahometan religion, and was deposed by his nobles in 1797. He was succeeded by his brother Osai Apoko II.

The Mahometans of Kong instigated the population of Gaman to rebel against the new monarch, and it was professed at Buntuku that the object was to restore to his throne the deposed Osai Quamina.

The Gaman army was four times as numerous as that which Osai Apoko II. was able to assemble. He retreated. The Gaman army advanced across the Tando and overran the open country and the plains of Massa with its cavalry. At last Osai Apoko, having mus-

tered a sufficient force, defeated the Gaman army in a battle which lasted for many days. For the first time in the annals of Ashanti, Mahometan soldiers served in the ranks of its army, and assisted in inflicting this defeat on the Mahometan soldiery of Gaman.

In reward for their loyalty their co-religionists were not sold into slavery, and Osai Apoko, unlike most of his forefathers, died in peace in 1799.

At his death he was succeeded by his brother, much younger than himself, and with the advent of Osai Tutu Quamina to the throne we enter on a period in which political relations may be said to have subsisted between Great Britain and Ashanti.

Osai Tutu Quamina was only seventeen years' old when he ascended the throne; but he showed, through the quarter of a century which he reigned, the courage, tenacity, and astuteness of his ancestors. The second year of his reign was signalized by a victory. Distant Ghofan and Ghobagho had attacked and overrun Banna and destroyed its capital. He met the invaders at Kapu and inflicted a loss on them in prisoners and captives of

100,000 men. How Great Britain became involved in disputes with Ashanti, and what have been the various phases of policy which have led to our present complications, must be traced in a subsequent chapter.

So much has been written to show that Ashanti, though barbarous, has a history and a policy.

Its history in this century shall only be recorded so far as it is interlaced with European action.

Osai Tutu Quamina reigned till 1824. To him succeeded Osai Ockoto, his brother, in 1824. Osai Quaco Duah filled the throne from 1838 to 1868, when he was succeeded by Coffee Calcalli, the grandson of Osai Tutu Quamina, the present reigning sovereign.

The national characteristics of the Ashantis are thus stated by an accurate observer:—great traders; short, thin, and bony in make; sharp, active, temperate, and warlike, but ignorant and superstitious, and extremely filthy in their habits. The king and nobles exhibit on state occasions great barbaric magnificence. Rich robes of silk and golden-hilted swords are the becoming attributes of the Ashanti

princes. Manufactures in gold, in iron, and in pottery, as well as silk weaving in narrow webs, are the principal industries of the country.

Excluded from the sea by their geographical position, the only outlet for their manufactures, when trade is closed through the Protected Territories, is by the caravans which traverse the desert to Timbuctu; and some of their exports find an outlet on the distant shores of the Mediterranean.

CHAPTER III.

EUROPEAN CONNECTION.

HAVING endeavoured to sketch what is known of the history of Ashanti to the commencement of this century, it is now proposed briefly to relate how Europe became connected with the Gold Coast.

Prince Henry of Portugal, the Navigator, was the first to direct attention to the West Coast of Africa, and it was explored as far as Sierra Leone, under his auspices, in 1441. Prince Henry obtained from Pope Martin V. a grant of all the countries from Cape Mogador to the East Indies, but at Prince Henry's death in 1463 discovery does not seem to have advanced beyond Sierra Leone.

King John of Portugal, in 1481, despatched Don Diego d'Asambuja, with a force of 700 men, to the Gold Coast. He landed at El Mina and built the Castle of St. George, in spite of opposition from the natives. The discovery of America by Columbus, and the commencement

of the West African slave trade, attracted other nations to the Gulf of Guinea. The Dutch formed establishments at Mouree and elsewhere, and in 1637 drove the Portuguese out of El Mina, which remained in Dutch possession till 1872.

The English, so long ago as the reign of Edward IV., had proposed to establish themselves in these regions, but were restrained by the fear of infringing the rights of Portugal under the Pope's grant. In the latter part of Edward VI.'s reign private English adventurers traded to the Gold Coast; but the Government support extended by Portugal, and then by Holland, to their subjects placed the English private adventurers at great disadvantage. James I. extended some support to these traders, and a fort was established at Cormantine. The Company of Royal Adventurers of England trading to Africa was formed in 1662 with the Duke of York at its head, but the Dutch war, which commenced in 1667, proved fatal to its success. All the British forts except Cape Coast Castle were taken by the illustrious Dutch Admiral De Ruyter, and his gold and ivory baton of

Marshal, which for upwards of 200 years has been the symbol of the Sovereignty of Holland on the Gold Coast, was handed by Governor Fergusson, the last of his successors, to Go-Pope Hennessy in 1872.

In 1672 a new company was formed, called the Royal African Company of England. They proceeded to build or rebuild Dixcove, Secondi, Commenda, Anamaboe, Winnebah, Accra, and to strengthen Cape Coast Castle. Several of these forts were in close proximity to the forts of the Dutch; and of the Danes, who had recently obtained a footing on the coast.

The history of the Gold Coast for more than a century is a history of rivalry, intrigue, and petty war between the English and the Dutch in the Gulf of Guinea. In 1752 a new company was formed, called The African Company of Merchants, but the bad feeling betwixt the English and Dutch continued unabated. In 1782 the current of success, which had generally favoured the Dutch, was turned in favour of England. Captain Shirley, of the 'Leander,' captured all the Dutch forts except El Mina, from which he was repulsed; but in 1785 they were restored to Holland.

During these fifty years the Fanti tribe acquired pre-eminence amongst our neighbours on the coast, and thus absorbed the Dey of Fetu, on whose ground Cape Coast Castle stood, and obtained an influence among their neighbours second only to Ashanti. The Fantis were our neighbours and allies; the Dutch were our rivals and enemies, and were thus thrown into alliance with the Ashantis.

Though the Dutch had the right of conquest from Portugal, both they and the English held their forts as traders, and paid a ground rent to various native kings. The Dutch Government paid the King of Denkera a monthly note for El Mina Castle. This note became the property of the King of Ashanti, by his conquest of Denkera, and he still holds it. Similarly the Danes paid rent for most of their possessions.

These forts were not only for defence against the natives, but for defence against European neighbours and powers. The object of the European powers was the same; it was to obtain from the African chiefs and kings their superfluous population or their captives in war, as slaves for the cultivation of the American plantations.

In addition to this, some gold dust, ivory, and ground nuts, were, no doubt, obtained; but the slave trade was the main object of all these establishments. In exchange we gave them firearms, gunpowder, and rum.

The immediate effect of the cessation of the slave trade has been to increase the number of violent deaths. When Mr. Dupuis remonstrated with Osai Tutu Quamina in 1817 for putting to death 10,000 prisoners in cold blood, he replied —"I killed Denkera, and took his gold and "brought more than 20,000 slaves to Kumasi. "Some being bad, I washed my stool in their "blood; some were good, and I sold them or "gave them to my captains; many died, for "this country does not grow corn to feed more "than its own people, and what can I do? "unless I kill or sell them, they will grow "strong and kill my own people."

Since then, no doubt, a large import trade is growing up, but it must take some time to induce a considerable sale of Manchester goods, where, in many districts, man walks abroad in all his rude and native majesty; and the gentler sex, where the fig tree does not flourish, substitute for its leaf a narrow string of beads,

which appears, to the civilized observer, more fitted for ornament than utility.

But in 1807 the only authority the English exercised outside the forts was that of the strong over the weak, and was cemented and maintained by gifts, such as "Christmas presents, "chiefs' customs, ground rent and water custom, "Sunday's and Wednesday's liquor, and pre-"sents to Caboceers," all duly recorded in the books of the Company. Moreover, as has already been mentioned, in the hands of the Fanti and other native tribes were notes, which were, in fact, the leases on which we obtained possession of the forts.

The Governor of the Gold Coast in 1807 was Colonel Torrane, employed in that capacity by the African Company, and the king of Ashanti was Osai Tutu Quamina. The two principalities into which Assin was then divided were governed, the one by Cheboo and Apoutay, co-partners in authority, the other by Amoo. One of Apoutay's followers opened the grave of one of Amoo's captains and robbed it of some treasure. Amoo, unable to obtain redress from Cheboo and Apoutay, appealed to the King of Ashanti. Osai Tutu

Quamina gave judgment in favour of Amoo, and imprisoned Apoutay. He escaped, and Amoo, unable to obtain redress, marched into Cheboo and Apoutay's province. The King, however, attempted negotiation, and prevailed on the chiefs to meet. At the meeting Cheboo and Apoutay attempted a treacherous attack on Amoo, which he successfully resisted, killing at the time the man who had robbed the grave. The King again interfered, and again the wrong-doers attacked Amoo. Then, after two more attempts at reconciliation, and more treachery against Amoo, Osai Tutu Quamina marched his army into Assin, and Cheboo and Apoutay fled with their followers into the Fanti territory. The King then sent a present to Accom, king of Essecumah, asking him to allow the Ashanti forces to pass through his country in pursuit of his rebellious vassals. Leave was granted, and Appia Danquah, the Ashanti general, overtook and defeated Cheboo and Apoutay.

But the Fantis then joined in the war, and attacked the Ashantis, who were again victorious. All the Fanti tribes now united with the Assins, who had bribed their chiefs. The

Dutch Governor at Cormantine admitted the Ashantis to the fort, and the King himself advanced to Abra with a considerable force. Colonel Torrane attempted to mediate, but was unsuccessful, and the Ashanti king, ascertaining that Cheboo and Apoutay had taken refuge with the English, laid siege to Anamaboe. Mr. White, the Governor, with Messrs. Meredith, Swanzy, Barnes, and Smith, and twenty-four men, received as many of the inhabitants as they could, and determined upon a gallant defence. They repulsed every assault with tremendous slaughter. A small detachment came to their relief by sea, and Colonel Torrane entered into negotiations with the King.

They were not honourable to England, as he agreed to give up the refugees to the vengeance of their enemies. Apoutay escaped, but Cheboo was put to death with circumstances of atrocious barbarity. The King, having expressed his respect for the brave defence of the garrison, claimed the Fantis who had taken refuge there as prisoners. He was at last satisfied with half their number, and Colonel Torrane, keeping the other half, sold them

into slavery. The King declined to allow Colonel Torrane to interfere in behalf of the Fantis, but promised to recognize his authority in the towns under the guns of the British forts.

The Ashanti army was suffering severely from the climate and bad water near Cape Coast, but they were put in motion, and defeated the Fantis in a bloody battle near Cormantine.

Smallpox broke out among the invading army, so after overrunning all Fanti as far as Accra, and leaving some garrisons, Osai Tutu Quamina withdrew to Kumasi. The result of this campaign was not only to subdue the revolted Assins, but to subjugate the Fantis and to bring into discredit the power and authority of England. It is to the credit of Mr. John Swanzy, then Governor of British Accra, that he rose from his sick bed and went by canoe to Cape Coast to remonstrate with Colonel Torrane against his pusillanimity and cruelty, but it was too late. Few of the wretched Fanti prisoners escaped the fate of victims or of slaves, and Mr. Swanzy returned to Accra only to die, but with the satisfaction that he at

least had striven (if in vain) to maintain the honour of his country.

During all this invasion the Ashantis continued on friendly terms with the Dutch, and the slave trade flourished briskly at El Mina and Accra. So soon as the Ashanti army was withdrawn, the Fantis and other tribes of the English alliance, attributing the invasion to Dutch counsels, in spite of the advice of the English Governor assembled together and besieged El Mina.

The Dutch Governor was killed, and the blockade of El Mina by the Fantis continued till 1811.

The King at last sent ambassadors to the English Governor stating that he must send his army and restore order among the Fantis, but that he had no intention to make war on the English. Two armies were marched into Fanti, and at first met with some success.

But Attah, king of Akim, who appears to have been a noble specimen of his race, took up arms against Ashanti, routed them in two battles, and freed the country south of the Prah of their presence. He unfortunately died soon after of smallpox, or he might have done some-

thing for the regeneration of his country. His brother succeeded him, but showing less independence and more affection or fear for the Ashantis, his people suggested to him that he should put himself to death, which he obligingly did, after a week passed in drinking, dancing, and singing in anticipation of his own funeral. His successor, Cudjia Coomah, was hostile to Ashanti, and endeavoured to carry out Attah's policy. The condition of what is now the Protected Territory was most lamentable.

In 1814 there was another Ashanti invasion, which met with much success. Winnebah was attacked and plundered, and its Governor, Meredith, murdered by exposure in the forest.

Appiah Dunquah having died, the new Ashanti general concentrated his forces at Abra, and the unfortunate Fantis again flocked for shelter to Cape Coast. Thither the King sent for some refugees. A solemn oath was taken that they were not there: and the Ashantis established their superiority over Fanti, leaving residents in many towns to maintain order and authority, and to collect tribute.

In 1817 a present was sent by the African Company for the King of Ashanti. The embassy was composed of Mr. James, Governor of Accra, and Messrs. Bowdich, Hutchinson, and Tedlie. The deputation was well received at Kumasi. Hospitality was shown in every way, but when they came to business matters did not run smoothly.

The King produced the notes or leases which he had captured from the Fantis, and claimed that payment on account of them should be made to him in the same manner as the Dutch paid him rent for El Mina, due on the document which had been taken from Denkera. This was resisted on various grounds, but at last the notes were made over to Osai Tutu Quamina, and the subjection of the Fantis to him was thus acknowledged; other difficulties were raised, but reparation was made for insults offered at Commenda and Amissa by large payments, and the Treaty of peace and amity was at last signed and sealed on the 7th September, 1817. The Fanti tribes were by it reduced to the condition of tributaries to Ashanti, but a species of British Protectorate was admitted.

The Fourth Article says:—

"In order to avert the horrors of war, it is "agreed that in any case of aggression on the "part of the natives under British protection "the King shall complain thereof to the Gover- "nor-in-Chief to obtain redress, and that they "will in no instance resort to hostilities even "against the other towns of the Fanti terri- "tory, without endeavouring as much as pos- "sible to effect an amicable arrangement, "affording the Governor an opportunity of "propitiating it as far as he may with discre- "tion."

The Eighth Article says:—

"The Governor-in-Chief reserves to himself "the right of punishing any subject of Ashanti "or Dwabur guilty of secondary offences; "but in case of any crime of magnitude, he "will send the offender to the King, to be "dealt with according to the laws of his "country."

The King then wrote to the Governor a letter, which he concludes thus:—

"I will thank you to impress on the King of "England that I have sworn not to renew the "war with the Fantis out of respect to him,

" and I shall consider them as his people. I " hope, therefore, he will in turn consider if he " cannot renew the slave trade, which will be " good for me."

The mission withdrew, Mr. Hutchinson remaining as resident for some months; and it is to this mission that we are indebted for the excellent work of Mr. Bowdich.

The King of Ashanti now commenced war with Gaman. Rumours were circulated, which proved to be false, of disasters to his army.

The Fantis and other Protected Tribes yielded to the belief, and insulted and beat the servants of the King. Osai Tutu Quamina, on the strength of the Treaty, applied to the Governor for redress. The Governor refused. Other messengers came whom the Governor received with great indignity, presenting them with a ball cartridge, in token that he was ready for war. The King received the message in the camp at Gaman, and his nobles at once demanded to be led to the coast. But he said he could not reconcile the conduct of the Governor with British good faith, that he believed there must be some mistake, and that the Governor had been imposed upon.

That the Treaty had stipulated that in the event of any aggression on the part of the Protected Tribes he was to seek redress through the Governor. That he had only carried out the Treaty, and had no intention of giving offence.

He therefore despatched a messenger of high rank with a numerous retinue. A little previous to this date the British Government had sent out Mr. Dupuis as Consul to Ashanti, and he was waiting at Cape Coast to proceed to Kumasi when the Ashanti Ambassador arrived.

The Governor was extremely jealous of Mr. Dupuis' appointment, and seems to have been determined to thwart him. When the Ambassador appeared in the Council Chamber at Cape Coast, he begged that the Fourth Article of the Treaty already given might be read aloud, and then required that the Seventh Article should also be read aloud. The Seventh Article provides that "The Governors of the respective "forts shall at all times afford every protection "in their power to the persons and property of "the people of Ashanti who may resort to "the water side." The Envoy then, with much

dignity, said that redress must at once be given, or the King would appeal to arms.

The Envoy was then informed of Mr. Dupuis' presence, and of the nature of his appointment. At the close of his dignified address he had tendered to the Governor the parchment on which the Treaty was engrossed from which he had caused extracts to be read with such effect. He now, at Mr. Dupuis' intercession, consented to retain it till he received fresh instructions from the King.

A fresh Ambassador was then sent down, a relation of the King. He abated nothing of his demands, but insisted on a payment of 1600 ounces of gold from the inhabitants of Cape Coast, and a like sum from the British Governor.

Upon this Mr. Dupuis went to Kumasi. He was well received by the King, who seemed willing to adjust the differences without proceeding to war. A new Treaty was drawn up, recognizing the King of Ashanti's sovereignty over Fanti, and stipulating that the natives under British protection should be answerable only to the Governor for their acts. The King withdrew his demand for 1600 ounces from the

Governor, but insisted on the fine to be paid by the Cape Coast people.

His majesty also consented to receive missionaries to preach the Christian religion.

When Mr. Dupuis returned to the coast the King also sent ambassadors, whom he wished to proceed to England with presents to the Prince Regent. The Governor, however, refused to ratify the Treaty, or to assist in obtaining the ambassadors a passage to England. The policy of these acts is justly styled by Mr. Cruickshank as being short-sighted and perfidious. In spite of the disavowal of the Treaty, the withdrawal of the proposal to satisfy the King's demands on Cape Coast, the refusal to acknowledge the King's right to the paynotes, and the contumacious rejection of his ambassadors, Osai Tutu Quamina still refrained from war. Mr. Dupuis sent him word that he would lay the matter before the Home Government. When several months had passed without reply or redress, Prince Adoom, the ambassador, was ordered to retire from Cape Coast and to stop the trade. He established his headquarters at Mansu, and exercised authority over the Protected

Tribes. Trade was entirely stopped, and the whole territory was a scene of lawless violence. In cónsequence of this an Act was passed abolishing the African Company and transferring the forts and settlements to the Crown.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BRITISH RULE.

In 1821 the African Company ceased to exist as a political Power, and the Gold Coast became a dependency of Sierra Leone, under the government of Sir Charles McCarthy. He landed at Cape Coast on the 28th March, 1822, but he had enormous difficulties to contend with. The servants of the late African Company refused to give him information, or to take office under him, and he seems to have decided that there was no mode of escape from the difficulties but by war. He was a brave soldier, and a man of a noble and generous nature. He hated the tyranny of the Ashanti Government, and hoped to deliver the Fantis from oppression. He had frequent interviews with the Fanti chiefs, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and endeavoured to give unity and decision to their councils. Osai Tutu Quamina saw, with feelings of deep indignation, rebellion,

as he conceived it, now being nursed by the new Governor. He fully appreciated the formidable nature of the contest, and secretly made great preparations for war. Sir Charles McCarthy attributed his inactivity to fear, and left the Gold Coast to visit Sierra Leone on his ordinary tour of inspection, knowing nothing of the Ashantis' determination to seek redress by arms. A black sergeant of a West India regiment was carried off and murdered at Mansu by the Ashantis, and other symptoms caused Sir Charles McCarthy to hurry back from Sierra Leone.

Unfortunately, he despised his foe. An officer experienced in West Coast warfare, Captain Laing, volunteered to go to Kumasi to ask for the release of the kidnapped sergeant, for it was not then known he had been butchered. The King also made overtures of peace through his ally, the Dutch Governor. Sir Charles McCarthy rejected all proposals and hurried on the war.

Hoping to be beforehand with the Ashantis, he hastened across the Prah with about 500 disciplined men, and such of the Protected Tribes as could be mustered. Major Chisholm

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was advancing in support with a larger body, but he did not await his arrival. Trusting in the discipline of his men he advanced to Assamacow, and on the 21st January, 1824, found himself in the presence of more than 20,000 enemies.

Sir Charles McCarthy had listened to tales of disaffection in the Ashanti ranks, and had believed them; for he fancied that love of freedom might be more powerful than love of country. Outnumbered, outflanked, he was soon deserted by all but his few English officers, some men of the West India Regiments, and the King of Denkera and his men. He resisted to the last, and fell like a gallant soldier, and his head, with those of many of his comrades, was carried to Kumasi. One of his staff, Mr. Williams, was saved from decapitation by an Ashanti captain, to whom he had shown civility at Cape Coast, and he lived to return to his countrymen and relate the particulars of this great disaster.

Sir Charles McCarthy did not die in vain; his humanity and his bravery are still the theme of story and song amongst Fanti and Ashanti. Many a child is given the

name of Karti, in remembrance of the gallant English General, and the great oath of the country is by Sir Charles McCarthy. Major Chisholm succeeded to the command, and by prudent measures succeeded in saving the forts. Major Ricketts, the careful historian of the war, eventually succeeded to the command, but it was not till 1826 that Colonel Purdon was able to inflict so serious a defeat on the Ashantis as to cause them to withdraw from the Protected Territory. With great judgment he secured the forts, and removed the base of his operations to Accra. There, from the hardy western tribes and a nucleus of English regiments, he assembled a force of 10,000 men. With this he advanced along the comparatively healthy and open plains of Accra, and about 25 miles N.E. of it, at the village of Doondowah, was able to bring the Ashanti army to action. In the meantime the astute and able Osai Tutu Quamina had been gathered to his fathers, and was succeeded by Osai Ockoto, his brother.

The new king had not the sagacity of his brother, but endeavoured to prosecute the war with vigour.

On the 26th of August, 1826, the battle of Doondowah was fought with determined obstinacy. The native British allies at one time wavered, but Colonel Purdon was able to apply for the first time to African war the then novel arm, the Congreve rocket, and thus struck dismay into the enemy, and the result of the battle was the complete destruction of the Ashanti Army. Cheboo, king of Denkera, and Cheboo Coomah, of Assin, contributed much by their conduct to the success of the day. The Danes also assisted to win the victory.

The Protectorate was thus relieved of the Ashanti invasion. Sir Neil Campbell arrived as Governor, and wished the allies and Protected Tribes to consent to terms of peace; but he found it impracticable to obtain their consent.

In 1830 the Government, being dissatisfied with the state of affairs on the Gold Coast, determined to abandon it. They sent out a ship-of-war to remove the English merchants and officials, and were prepared to leave the Protected Tribes to their fate. This was to some degree averted by the action of the African Merchants. A committee was formed in

London, which received power to appoint an officer as Governor, and 4000*l.* a year was contributed by the public to assist in maintaining our connection with the Gold Coast. Fortunately for the name of England, George Maclean was induced to accept this appointment. He had been Military Secretary to Colonel Lumley at Cape Coast in 1826, and was eminently fitted for the post which he held with such advantage for fourteen years. He found the country in a deplorable condition, but both Ashantis and Fantis were momentarily exhausted by war. After long negotiation he succeeded in 1831 in obtaining a Treaty from the Ashantis which is still in force, and which guaranteed the independence of Apollonia, Ahanta, Wassaw, Fanti (including in that term Effutu, Abra, Akumfi, Agunah, Gomoah, and Accra), Assin, Akim, and Akuapim, and placed them under British protection. It also acknowledged the independence of Cudjoe Cheboo, King of Denkera, who was to reside near Cape Coast. These extensive districts were henceforth relieved from the yoke of Ashanti, and its king *no* longer permitted to treat with them excepting through the English Governor.

The King of Ashanti's relations taken prisoners at Doondowah, and all prisoners on each side, were released. The forts were to be open for trade, and in security for the performance of the Treaty, two hostages of royal blood, and 600 ounces in gold, to be returned in ten years provided the Treaty was not infringed, were sent to Cape Coast Castle.

Osai Quantibissah, a son, and Osai Ansah, a nephew, of the King were accordingly delivered over, as was also the gold, and peace having been kept for ten years the gold was returned to the King at the time specified in the Treaty. It surprised the Ashantis, an industrious and trading people, to find that the gold so returned had never been disturbed in its packages.

Osai Ansah lived at Cape Coast until this year, esteemed by all who knew him.

A popular disturbance directed against those who harboured Ashantis caused the murder of five members of his household, and he has been advised by the British Government to remove to some safer residence until the present troubles are over.

For thirteen years Governor Maclean continued to administer the affairs of the Gold

Coast successfully, and during all that time Osai Quacoe Duah maintained the most friendly relations with the English authorities and with the Protected Tribes. Indeed, Governor Maclean has placed on record his opinion that Quacoe Duah was a lover of peace. Parliament in 1843 decided to take the Gold Coast again under the imperial Government, and Sir Stephen Hill was appointed to the charge as Governor, having George Maclean as his subordinate. Governor Hill had the wisdom to rely on his subordinate, and Maclean died in 1847, having advanced the interests of England in Africa during his seventeen years' tenure of office more than any man who went before or has succeeded him; a reserved, silent, resolute man, full of latent energy and resource, his name will always be had in remembrance amongst those whom he so ably governed. In 1838, as we have already mentioned, Osai Ockoto died, and Osai Quacoe Duah succeeded to the throne, but no change resulted whilst the able counsels of Mr. Maclean continued. It was not till near the end of this sovereign's long reign in 1863 that a cause or pretext for war again occurred. A slave of Quacoe Duah's became

possessed of some gold nuggets found in Ashanti. The dust belongs to the finder, or, if a slave, to his master, the nuggets to the king. The slave who had stolen the nugget fled for refuge to Cape Coast. The Governor, Mr. Richard Pine, refused to give him up. The King of Ashanti invaded the territory. The Home Government, ill-informed, took no steps to support the Governor, but they authorized him to invade Ashanti.

Four staff officers were sent, and some additional companies of a West India regiment, amounting in all to about 800 men. No supplies, no transports, no hospital comforts, no means of carrying on the war in a dangerous climate were sent, and sickness deprived the country of many valuable officers and men. Instead of the threatened invasion of Ashanti, the Protectorate was invaded, but at last, after ravaging the country, the Ashantis withdrew.

The prestige which had attached to the English name from the battle of Doondowah till the death of George Maclean was gone, and the question again came to be debated whether we should maintain or abandon our imperial connection with the Gold Coast.

CHAPTER V.

THE BRITISH RULE.

THE House of Commons Committee, appointed in 1865 to inquire into our colonies and dependencies on the West Coast of Africa, met under depressing circumstances—England had been defeated and disgraced because no provision had been made in men, material, or appliances to carry on the war, and it was felt that it was better to prepare to withdraw than to risk further contumely and disaster.

The Government of the Gold Coast, which in 1844 had been created independent, was in 1865 again attached to Sierra Leone, whence the Governor-in-Chief, as in the days of Sir Charles McCarthy, was to exercise supervision over the whole.

The British Government then proceeded to make an arrangement with Holland, by which all the forts and stations to the west of the Sweet-Water River were to belong to Holland; the Dutch making over to Great Britain all to

the eastward of that boundary. This arrangement was exceedingly distasteful to many of the tribes to the westward of El Mina, who had long enjoyed the benefit of British protection. Nevertheless, nearly 200,000 persons were thus transferred without being consulted. They showed their disapprobation of the transfer in the only way open to them, namely, by resisting the Dutch authorities. The Dutch were prompt to use coercive measures, and Commenda, long faithful to England, was bombarded in 1869 by the Dutch squadron to correct its contumacy.

The King of Apollonia made a dignified written protest against the transfer of the fort which stands in his dominions, and accepted with a bad grace the new rulers; and other chiefs expressed their discontent.

In 1868 Osai Quaco Duah died, and was succeeded by Coffee Calcalli, the present King of Ashanti. In 1869 it was decided to reduce the garrisons on the Gold Coast and elsewhere, and as a measure of economy the 3rd West India Regiment was disbanded, the Minister for War stating in parliament that 20,000*l.* a year was saved by the trans-

Hans. Vol. 194, p. 1118.

action. It is true that the men of the West India regiments had not shown the same impunity to climate since they had been largely recruited in the West Indies; and a local force composed of Houssas, a Mahometan martial tribe very loyal to England, had been suggested as a substitute. But the West India Regiment was disbanded without taking any steps to provide the substitute. The result was, that in February, 1873, the Administrator had to report that he only had 160 soldiers to defend 160 miles of territory.

To show how this reduction affected our power on the West Coast of Africa, it may be mentioned that in 1869 the Government of the Gambia was threatened by some unfriendly tribes, and British lives and property to a considerable amount were placed in great jeopardy. The Administrator was obliged to apply for protection to the neighbouring French Government. Two French men-of-war were at once despatched, and the colony saved. The result of this example was—not to cause a proper force to be sent to the Gambia, but to offer the Gambia, without consulting its inhabitants or the British parliament, to France. Strong

Hans. Vol. 203, p. 351.

remonstrances were made by the people of Gambia. They represented that they belonged principally to the Wesleyan branch of the Christian Church, who had established schools in every district; that all their relations and sympathy were with a Protestant power, and that they could never be contented under a Roman Catholic power, whose missionary agencies, however active and beneficial, would only produce heart-burning and discontent where order now reigned. These remonstrances were treated with disdain, and the transfer of Gambia would have been completed to France, as the transfer of the western division of the Gold Coast had been made to Holland, without consulting the wishes of the people, had it not been for the outbreak of the Franco-German war.

Par. Rep. Q. 7693.

Meantime the Dutch natives of El Mina and the Gold Coast, who had from time immemorial been at feud with the British natives, invoked the assistance of Ashanti to subdue those whom we had made over to them.

Coffee Calcalli, the new king, was not slow to intervene. He knew the dissensions prevailing between the Dutch and British natives,

and the attenuated companies which represented the army of England. He saw an opportunity for restoring the power of his kingdom, and of signalizing his reign by some great achievement. He despatched an army commanded by a cruel but brave general, Atjiempon, his uncle, to assist the Dutch to put down the natives who were friendly to British influence.

All these elements of discord were at work when the British Government entirely changed its policy, and obtained from Holland the cession not only of the old British forts and settlements transferred to Holland in 1867, but of the whole of the Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast.

The price paid to Holland for this arrangement was the cession of the English possessions in Sumatra, and the Acheen war is the result.

To us the Treaty has been even more disastrous.

The transfer was completed, and the new government installed at St. George d'Elmina with becoming dignity by Governor Pope Hennessy and Commodore Commerell on the 6th April, 1872; and it appears to have been

assumed that the Dutch natives' hatred of Britain and British protected natives would be at once assuaged by a well-drawn proclamation. But at the very moment of transfer an Ashanti general and army were in the heart of the newly-acquired province, and the discontent at once showed itself at Cape Coast by the murder of the Dutch officer, Lieutenant Joost, who had been left to complete the evacuation.

The Dutch natives were as discontented at being transferred to British rule without their consent, as had been the British natives who had been transferred to Dutch rule only four years before.

The British administration on the Gold Coast had, unfortunately, frequently changed hands during these proceedings. Sir Arthur Kennedy was relieved in 1872, and after a short delay Governor Pope Hennessy succeeded him.

They took different views of several of these transactions, and Governor Pope Hennessy himself had no time to carry out his policy before he was relieved by Governor Keate, who, unfortunately, died on the 17th March, 1873. He was succeeded by Colonel Harley, the Adminis-

trator at Cape Coast, who himself had shortly before been disabled by illness. The office of administrator had been held by Mr. Simpson, Mr. Ussher, Mr. Salmon, Mr. Chalmers, and Colonel Harley, and the policy of these gentlemen had been subjected to alteration by the visits of the before-mentioned Governors-in-Chief. This rapid change of governors must, in some degree, have caused the want of unity which seems to have paralyzed the action of the Home Government. There was no want of information that an Ashanti war was probable. Lord Granville writes to Sir Arthur Kennedy, whilst disapproving of Mr. Simpson's proceedings, "If "unhappily war shall have broken out, it is "impossible for me to foresee the state of things "which may exist when this despatch reaches "you, or to measure the obligations which the "steps taken by Mr. Simpson may have imposed "on the British Government."

Gold Coast. Part II. 17th May, 1869.

The ominous fears of Lord Granville in May, 1869, were not long without fulfilment. Indeed, at that very time not only was there an Ashanti army in the Dutch territory subduing the territory which England had abandoned; but the new king had sent troops

also into Akuapim and Akim, and one of his generals had seized a missionary, Mr. Ramseyer, with his wife and child, and had conveyed them as prisoners to Kumasi.

Successive governors have in vain endeavoured to effect the relief of these unfortunate captives. Looking at the astute and unscrupulous policy which has so frequently been shown by the kings of Ashanti, it seems astonishing how slow our governors and administrators were to recognize that we were at war with Ashanti, and that the king, in dallying with the negotiations, was only striving to gain time and disguise his preparations.

In October, 1872, the transfer having been completed, and the western districts being again under British rule, it was determined to seize the Ashanti general, Atjiempon, where he was then residing at Half Assini, and bring him to Cape Coast Castle. This was successfully accomplished; but, unfortunately, as it now appears, Atjiempon, a prince of the blood, was sent back with all honours to his country, without first insisting on the release of the captive missionaries in exchange for him. He, indignant at having been seized, so soon as

he reached Kumasi at once urged forward the prosecution of the war. Early in February, 1873, three Ashanti armies crossed the Prah and invaded the Protected Territory. The kings and chiefs immediately applied to the Administrator for arms, but no provision had been made to meet the emergency, which had been foreseen so long ago as 1869. Even in December, 1872, we find a correspondence between the War Office and the Colonial Office, not vigorously preparing for war, but trying to arrange for a reduction, or at least that there should be no increase to the 160 soldiers who were then vainly trying to garrison the forts against the advancing armies of Ashanti. Gold Coast, Part I. p. 177.

Attention must now be directed to the civil arrangements prevailing in the Protected Territory.

The reduction of the troops, the failure to provide any local force for defence, the delay in distributing arms, the hasty transfer of the British territory to Holland in 1867, and the preparations for the transfer of all the Dutch possessions to Great Britain; the disturbed state of all the districts, the stoppage of trade, and the unopposed occupation of portions of the

Protected Territory by an Ashanti army, seems to have influenced the well-educated natives to assemble, and in concert with some of the native kings to endeavour to form a Fanti confederation for the purpose of organizing the national defence and improving the country, developing its industry and educating its people. This course had been strongly advocated by Governor Pine and other British authorities, and it certainly seems to have deserved respectful consideration. On the 4th of December, 1871, this scheme was submitted to the Administrator, and he at once caused the gentlemen who presented it to be arrested, and treated them as persons who had outraged the laws of the country. The impolicy of this course seems manifest. It may not have been politic to grant the proposed Constitution, which, indeed, does not seem to have been extensively approved, at least by the more distant kings and chiefs of the Protected Territory; but after the failure to provide for the orderly government or defence of the territory, it does seem to have been impolitic in the last degree not to have advised and assisted the tribes to form at least some municipal government for themselves.

H. of C. Parl. Paper 173, 28th April, 1871.

In addition to all these causes of discontent there was superadded the refusal of the British merchants to pay a kind of brokerage to persons giving accommodation to strangers who visit Cape Coast for the purposes of trade. This had been the immemorial custom until the stoppage of trade in 1863; and now that a little trade was occasionally occurring, it was claimed by the natives of Cape Coast, and the refusal to pay it was the cause of a riot so serious on the 25th October, 1872, as to be described by Mr. Salmon as an occasion on which "he had never seen a crowd so excited." Whether it would have been prudent to continue to pay this tax, as suggested by the Government authorities, or whether it was an exaction which the merchants were justified in resisting, it is impossible to say, but at least the time for its discussion was unfortunate. It must be added to the causes which contributed to the discontent.

The full tide of invasion in February, 1873, had swept down on the Protected Territory, and found a people without unity, without arms, and without a leader.

Early in March it was known in England

that the Ashanti war had become a reality against which we were bound to provide. It was known that multitudes of men, women, and children had been driven to take refuge under the walls of Cape Coast Castle, and that their crops having been ravaged, and their houses destroyed, famine was inevitable. Some rice was accordingly sent from this country for their sustenance, and arms and ammunition were also despatched. A body of Houssas was brought down from Lagos. The King of Assin, the King of Anamaboe, Mr. Bentil a native gentleman of great authority, and others, at once mustered their forces. And a very remarkable letter arrived from the King of Fanti, at Mankessan, who had been named as one of two Kings President of the Fanti Confederation. It is dignified in tone, and is worth quoting at length.

Gold Coast, Part II. p. 224.

Sub-Enclosure 3, in No. 135.

MANKESSIM, 1 *February*, 1873.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Intelligence having reached me that the Ashantees have crossed our frontiers on the Prah and attacking the Assins in large force, I hasten to communicate the fact to your Excellency, and to

ascertain from you the measures the local Government intend adopting in the present crisis.

I now address your Excellency, as the head of the Fanti Confederation, for the purpose of learning from you what amount and the nature of the assistance your Government will render to the country in the present state of affairs.

Since the Fanti Confederation has not yet received the support of H.M. Government, but has been left to shift for itself as best it can, and the powers inherent in all governments have been, in the case of the Confederation, deprived of their legitimate exercise and functions, by the action of H.M. officials here, and by the neglect and discouragement of H.M. Government, I am thus constrained to appeal to you, as we infer from these facts that H.M. Government is prepared to accept, and has accepted, and will accept in the present emergency, the responsibilities that attach to it as "the protecting power."

I might here advert to the policy that has led to these results; but the fact of our ancient foes being in our territory compels me to leave for the present such observations as I might have to submit to you, for the purpose of inquiring into the steps that are to be taken, and will be taken, to rid our soil of the invader.

Having been divested of the power to obtain means for our self-defence, I now appeal to your Excellency in the name of the Confederation, and the Protectorate at large, for aid in money and arms,

and I respectfully solicit that I may be informed, with as little delay as possible, if such assistance will be rendered, as we cannot take the field too early to oppose, and, with God's aid, drive off the enemy.

Anxiously waiting your Excellency's reply,

I remain, &c.

(Signed) KING OF MANKESSIM.

To His Excellency Colonel R. W. Harley, C.B.,
Administrator, &c. &c., Gold Coast.

Information also arrived that the King of El Mina had joined the Ashantis. The central Ashanti army rapidly advanced, burning Attobiasi, Prashu, Assampah Naya, Dansamsu, Emhi, Barraco, Eniquah, Akonasi, and Yankumasi. And the native forces having been twice defeated, the Ashanti army appeared within twelve miles of Cape Coast Castle and El Mina.

CHAPTER VI.

RECENT EVENTS.

It now only remains to be told what has been done since Government recognized that an Ashanti invasion had occurred, and that it was their duty to defend the Protected Territory.

On the 5th June, 1873, the Ashantis totally routed the Fanti army at Jouquah, and advanced to Effutu, a village fifteen miles from El Mina, and twelve miles from Cape Coast Castle. The defeated Fantis poured in great disorder into Cape Coast, and swelled the already formidable crowd of panic-stricken wretches, amongst whom dysentery and small-pox were rapidly doing their work. About the same date the Dutch natives of Chama and El Mina, with a division of the Ashanti forces, commanded by Atjiempon, proceeded to attack Commenda, where there was no preparation whatever to defend the place. H. of C., C. 804, p. 4.

The force at Colonel Harley's disposal appears

to have consisted of about 100 soldiers of the 2nd West India Regiment, commanded by Captain Haynes, the senior military officer; 210 Houssas armed with breech-loaders under Lieutenant Hopkinson, recently arrived from Lagos; a volunteer corps raised in Cape Coast and its neighbourhood armed with Enfield rifles; and a small body (about fifty) of Fanti police armed with Sniders. There were also on the Coast H.M.S. 'Druid,' Captain Blake, 'Argus,' Captain Luxmore, and the gunboats 'Merlin,' 'Decoy,' and 'Seagull.'

With these slender forces Colonel Harley had to prepare for the defence of Cape Coast Castle and of St. George d'El Mina against an Ashanti army flushed with success, and numbering 12,000 men. The 'Merlin' was at once despatched to Commenda. Lieutenant Day reports a pitiful scene. The frantic population clustering on the beach implored his protection. He did what was possible under the circumstances. There were but few canoes to embark the helpless multitude. Nevertheless, a merchant ship, the 'Albertina,' which had two surf boats, was freighted with 350 of the most helpless, though several were drowned in

H. of C., C. 804, p. 5.

the surf during the embarkation, and Lieutenant Day remained in the 'Merlin' to give such protection as his gun might afford to the remaining population.

On the 8th June, 1873, H.M.S. 'Barracouta' P. 7. arrived from England. Captain Fremantle then became the senior naval officer, and he brought with him a force of 110 marines and marine artillery, commanded by Colonel Festing, R.M.A., and well supplied with munitions of war. The orders which Captain Fremantle brought with him from the Admiralty were, "That the marines are to be landed to "occupy the forts, should you [the Administrator] so desire it, and I propose to make "arrangements for their disembarkation in concert with yourself at the earliest possible "moment."

Though these orders, which were wise and prudent, had been issued by the Admiralty early in May, yet so unconscious was the Government that any war existed, and so ignorant of the character of the adversary with whom they have to deal, that on the 26th May, the ink hardly being dry on the orders above given, the First Lord of the Admiralty stated

to the House of Commons, to reassure those who felt natural anxiety because no hospital ships had been sent to bring away the inevitable number of fever-stricken men, that "strict "orders had been issued with regard to the "landing of seamen and marines, which would "not take place except in case of emergency."

Hansard, vol. 216, pp. 430–431.

Captain Fremantle arrived none too soon. It was known that the Ashanti advanced posts were in the immediate vicinity of El Mina, and that the Dutch natives were assisting them with provisions and information. The Administrator on the 12th June decided, by the advice of his Council, on proclaiming martial law at El Mina, and its execution was placed in the hands of Captain Fremantle and Colonel Festing. It could not have been placed in better hands.

Colonel Festing, as senior military officer, took command of the land forces. By arrangements skilfully made, a night march was planned and executed to El Mina. The squadron arrived simultaneously and occupied the river and outlets of the town to seaward by its boats.

H. of C., C. 804, p. 18.

The notorious disaffection and rebellious

spirit of the El Mina people made it necessary to remove them from the neighbourhood of the Castle.

Notice was accordingly given them to deliver up their arms, and after sufficient delay, no attention being paid to this order, about noon on the 15th June the disaffected town was burnt, ample time having been afforded for the inhabitants to withdraw.

So soon as the flames of the burning town were seen, an Ashanti force of over 3000 men advanced to attack the British forces. Captain Fremantle, though the superior officer of Colonel Festing, with a chivalrous delicacy worthy of all praise, placed his seamen and marines under Colonel Festing's orders, and acting as a volunteer with that officer, set an example of courageous devotion in the fore-front of the battle. Colonel Festing was thus able to oppose them with nearly 500 men, and inflicted on them a severe loss, driving back the attacking forces. A portion of the seamen and marines having embarked, the Ashanti general renewed the attack about 5 P.M. Colonel Festing's force, then reduced to about 200 men, but with the prestige of

C. 802, p. 10.

success, again defeated and pursued them to the village of Achimun, about three miles from El Mina. An Ashanti general, a nephew of the King, and other chiefs, were killed, and the Ashanti forces were again concentrated at Effutu. Armed police and provisions were thrown into Dixcove and Secondi, under the civil Commandants.

Immediately after, Commodore Commerell, one of our bravest and most experienced naval officers, and then Commanding-in-Chief on the West Coast, arrived on the spot; but in making a reconnaissance up the Prah, to see how far it was navigable by boats, he was treacherously fired upon from an ambuscade and most dangerously wounded. At the same time Captain Luxmore of the 'Argus,' was also severely wounded, and the service deprived of those and other valuable men.

Meantime, an officer of great capacity, Major General Sir Garnet Wolseley has been sent as Governor-in-Chief. But as yet it may be said he is a General without an army. Without an army, indeed, he has shown the superiority of a handful of disciplined men to hordes of barbarians. In the latter days of October he has

three times defeated the enemy. The number of officers wounded in proportion to men shows how they have had to expose themselves while leading half-disciplined natives; but the fringe of the jungle has been scoured and penetrated, only to show the difficulties of such warfare.

Captain Glover, R.N., the Governor of Lagos, perhaps the most experienced officer in the management of these tribes since the days of Governor Maclean, is endeavouring at Accra to raise a native force; and other officers are attempting to infuse some spirit into the broken bands of the Fanti Confederacy. Arms and a railway have been sent out, but there seems to be no decision yet arrived at as to the terminus from which the railway is to proceed, nor the direction in which it is to be carried.

It seems unfortunate that Cape Coast Castle and El Mina have been fixed upon as the base of operations.

The Ashanti invasion of 1824 was not defeated until the base of operations was transferred to Accra. From Accra any European troops that it might be thought proper to employ could, by a convenient march of 27 miles,

be encamped in the healthy mountains of Akropong. The Volta is the true base of operation.

H. of C., 1865. Enclosure 2, 7483.

At this moment, as has already been mentioned, one English firm alone has a squadron of small river steamers in the lagoons at the mouth of the Assini. Is it too much to hope that Government may provide a similar flotilla on the Volta?

About 50 miles up the Volta is the healthy station of N. Pong, within 15 miles of Akropong, and affording good water carriage for any troops that might be assembled there. In this healthy mountainous district are the brave and loyal tribes of Krobo and Akim, whose services would be infinitely more valuable than the spiritless natives of the coast. The Ashanti frontier is 20 miles further up the Volta, and water carriage would place any troops and forces within 100 miles of Kumasi, or at least 20 miles nearer than Cape Coast Castle. This, which seems the wisest strategy, would have the further advantage of placing the tribes to the N.E. of Ashanti in connection with Europeans, and of enlisting allies whose hatred of Ashanti must be deep and bitter. The attempts of the

Government to overcome the difficulty have not as yet been adequate to the emergency. The experience of the successful campaign in Abyssinia affords an excellent guide for the requisites to success. If the base of operation be the Volta, then the line of communication to be guarded is only 100 miles as compared to the 400 miles for which Lord Napier of Magdala had to provide in his march to that stronghold.

Moreover, the co-operation of friendly natives can be counted on to protect the communication with the base on the Volta. Abundant supplies of healthy provisions, of medical comforts, of arms and ammunition, should be provided, and small airy swift steamships should be sent out, so that every week all the sick and wounded might be conveyed away to a healthy climate. Sufficient transport should be left at anchor on the coast, so that every man might remain on board ship till the advance is determined on, and every man re-embarked and conveyed away so soon as success has crowned their efforts, a success we may hope for under the prudent and skilful direction of Sir Garnet Wolseley. Let us hope that an effort will be

made worthy of the English nation to redeem our promises to the Protected Tribes, to free the unfortunate captives in Kumasi, and inflict a never to be forgotten punishment on the King of Ashanti.

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